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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NEW YORK CITY AND COUNTY CRIMINALS¹

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I

A few criminologists, already have mentioned the difference which exists between the criminals coming from the large city and those coming from the country; as Gustav Aschaffenburg, e. g., in his book "Crime and Its Repression."³ Others, too, have declared that there is a difference between the two groups; that among the criminals of the large city, the habitual criminal, especially the habitual thief, predominates. They asserted these differences as a fact. They established this fact largely from statistics. But nobody seems to have examined the causes of these differences.

We find, usually these differences between the city and country groups to be classified among the "social causes" of criminality, a classification which we can easily understand. We read and hear much about the social conditions in the city, in contrast to the entirely different conditions of the country. The conditions have certainly an influence upon the up-growing boys. We are used to comparing the industrial urban child with the rural child and we are used to finding very quickly striking exterior differences. But we have to be careful not to become biased. The poverty of the country can be as appalling as the poverty of the city, and the environment of the country child does not differ very much from the environment of the city child. Therefore, we find already here a rupture in the explanation of the causes of criminality by the differences of the city and country environments.

Aschaffenburg calls the industrial city people "more criminal" than the people of the country. But nobody tells us why they are "more criminal." You may read about the influence of the occupation, of the economic conditions and of the mode of living, which are so entirely different from the conditions of the country. The "exterior influences," the real "social causes" are especially determining.

¹The data included in this study were obtained at the psychological laboratory of Auburn Prison, N. Y.

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³Modern Criminal Science Series, Little-Brown & Co., Boston.

Others claim that the social arrangements are responsible, or they develop the notion of "the proletarianizing of the criminality," i. e., the criminality of the mob, out of the social conditions of the city.

If we find that poverty and misery are detrimental, we know only one side of the fact. We do not know why they are detrimental to those people. They do not necessarily produce criminality; and they do not explain to us the differences between the criminals of the city and those of the country; poverty may exist in the country as well as in the city. Are, really, poverty, and in connection with it, truancy and crime, the results of external conditions? Are they the results of the social conditions? Are they the results of the economic conditions? We thought so for a long time. But since we have been able to measure intelligence and determine mental age; since the problem of the feeble-minded, with all its varieties, has been presented, we find that the cause of poverty, of truancy and crime is lying within the man himself; and that these do not result entirely from external influences.

H. H. Goddard declares⁴ "any person, who is feeble-minded, who . . . is unable to compete with his fellows for existence, must . . . become a pauper. He is incapable of earning his own living; therefore, he must live at the expense of someone else. He may take the matter somewhat into his own hands and seize upon means of living, in which case he becomes a criminal; or he may quietly and passively submit to the conditions, and then he becomes a pauper . . . "or e contrario: as a great many of all feeble-minded probably become paupers, truants, and criminals, a large percentage of all the criminals are probably feeble-minded. This has already been proved in relation to prostitution, as examinations in Chicago, Buffalo, and Boston, revealed that 50% of all street prostitutes are feeble-minded.

Here we find again how closely together the social and individual causes may be. We cannot separate the individual from his environment. The psychic conditions of a man determines his environment and his development, as well as, vice versa, the environment acts upon the psychic condition of the man.

Mrs. Wooley in Cincinnati, Ohio, examined school children a few years ago, in a very interesting way, and as one of the results offered the suggestion or conclusion, that most of the children left school at a time when they would not have been able to continue further, because they had reached the limit of their developing possibilities. In very few cases the exterior conditions are the causes

⁴Feeble-mindedness, Its Causes and Consequences.

which induce these pupils to leave school at an early age and start upon an occupational life. It is not as much the necessity of helping to support the family which compels the children to give up school, as it is the fact that the pupil would never be able to perform higher grade school work satisfactorily. And if this is true, then we find further, that most of the boys later on are working only at that grade of occupation which they can easily perform; that they reach that position in industrial life which corresponds to their mental development. The exterior conditions are not the major factors of influence in the choice of occupation, but the larger factor is within the individual himself; in his physical and mental development. Since we have been able to measure the latter in comparative terms, we are able to find the connection which exists between individual and environment; between the social and psychological causes of crime. W. A. White, writing about the Binet-Simon method of measuring intelligence says,⁵ "The important point is, that the scale in skillful hands is a most efficient means for determining the mental development."

To understand the causes of crime in general and especially the differences between the criminals of the city and those of the country, we are not allowed to examine on the one side the psychological causes, as inheritance, education, age, sex, and on the other side the social causes, as race, occupation and economic conditions, as if they were two factors entirely different one from the other. They cannot be separated but belong together. The education is as well a social cause as it is psychological, and it cannot well be separated from the occupation. And there is no real distinction between inheritance and mental age on the one side, and social conditions on the other. They interact with each other. We have to keep these facts in our minds if we really wish to understand the causes of crime. The understanding of the crime and its causes does not lie in the perception alone of the different factors which, acting externally or internally, determine the development of the criminal, but it lies much more in the comprehension of the interacting connection between those factors. Thus only can we be allowed to speak of a real understanding of crime and its causes.

Starting from this standpoint, I tried to examine in the psychological laboratory of Auburn Prison, under the guidance of the prison physician, Dr. F. L. Heacox, one hundred inmates. Fifty of them were born in New York City, brought up and convicted there, and belonged therefore, to the typical criminals of the large city. Fifty of them were born, brought up and convicted in the country. I did not

⁵Outlines of Psychiatry, page 298.

select them from any other standpoint. The only restriction I made was that I did not consider anyone who was more than thirty-five years old. This was because I intended to ask the men about their youth and the earlier years of boyhood, and I thought that older men would not remember those years as well as the younger, nor be as interested in the study. However, I found that among the boys of the city there were many more younger ones, while it was harder to find among the country convicts men who had not yet reached their thirty-fifth year of age.

The median age of each group is shown in the following:

CHRONOLOGICAL AGE

	New York City Group	Country Group
Median	23.52 Yrs.	26.4 Yrs.
Age	23 Yrs. 6 Mos.	26 Yrs. 5 Mos.

This shows a difference of nearly three years, the country group being 2 years and 11 months older.

The questions which I asked, and the studies of the different men, were arranged upon the following plan:

A. PHYSICAL.

1. Order of birth.
2. Race.
3. Age.
4. Weight.
5. Previous illnesses.
6. Habits; tobacco, drugs, alcohol, gambling, sexual.

B. INTELLECTUAL.

1. Mental age.
2. School.
 - (a) Length of school attendance.
 - (b) Kind and location.
 - (c) Grade reached.
 - (d) Special talents.
3. Religious.
 - (a) Confession.
 - (b) Church attendance.
 - (c) Causes of discontinuance.

C. SOCIAL.

1. Family history.

- (a) Father—birthplace, religion, occupation, habits, illnesses, deaths.
- (b) Mother—birthplace, religion, occupation, habits, illnesses, deaths.
- (c) Siblings; number, married state, occupation, habits, illnesses, delinquencies.

2. Industrial.

Occupation, completion of trade, union membership.

3. Recreational.

Amusements, street life, companions.

4. Marital.

Age at marriage; age of wife; children.

5. Home conditions.

During boyhood; after marriage.

D. CRIMINAL.

1. Family.

Arrests, convictions, institutions.

2. Subject.

- (a) Juvenile institutions, protectories, asylums.
- (b) Industrial schools, reformatories, penitentiaries, prisons.
- (c) Number and sequence of arrests and convictions.

E. OBSERVATIONS OF THE EXAMINER.

Very important and exceedingly good help were the admission cards of the psychological laboratory of the prison, which contain the results of medical examinations of each inmate, the short family history, the personal record, the mental age, and the remarks of the prison physician about psychological impressions and outlooks, which are of great value. These records were especially welcome since it enabled me to make a comparison with my own impressions as well as a comparison with the answers the inmates had given to similar questions on a previous occasion.

The interviews were in general satisfactory. In these examinations it is always important that we obtain the right co-operation; get in "psychic" contact with the subject, because we depend nearly entirely on the subject's own statements. These inmates had already passed through similar examinations and many showed a pretty intensive antipathy toward mental tests. I often found in the begin-

ning some resistance against any contact, but an open declaration helped, especially when combined with the assurance that the interview had nothing to do with the measurement of intelligence. And when they found that the interview really had only to do with external conditions, such as amusements, family history and so on, most of them became familiar and showed a distinct liking to talk over their own affairs. Usually there was always a certain amount of coloring of the facts, which is easily understood, and which has to be counted upon. The facts are sometimes misstated because the subject does not remember them accurately; or because he wanted them to appear less incriminating; or because he liked to "show off," and stand out more "crooked" than he really was. This "criminal hero admiration" was especially to be found among the younger members of the city group, in whom development of criminal life is more or less closely connected with the admiration of criminal heroes, and not seldom the one of this group identifies himself with the hero. But this relative truth in the answers of the inmates could always be located through the connection with some of the other statements. The mental age was always taken into consideration.

II

If we now look over the different schedules of answers, we find in our first general view, a few very striking differences between the two groups. We have arranged the following tables to show the nativity of parents and the religious creeds of the two groups:

NATIVITY OF PARENTS

	New York City Group	Country Group
Those with foreign born parents.....	60%	16%

RELIGIOUS CREEDS

	New York City Group	Country Group
Catholic	66%	26%
Hebrew	18%
Protestants	16%	74%

Hardly one-fifth of the criminals of the country group are descendants of foreign-born parents, whereas in the city group the proportion mounts up to three-fifths. It would be still larger if we considered the foreign-born fathers only. Among our city criminals 70% are descendants of a foreign-born father. The Catholics, we find, comprise more than three-fifths of the city criminals, whereas the

country group shows not much more than one-fifth. But the city group shows one-fifth to be Protestants in contrast to the nearly four-fifths found in the country group. The remaining one-fifth in the city are Hebrews, a class which is entirely missing in the country group. These two striking differences of foreign-born parents and religious creeds are closely connected with each other. The religion of the parents usually determines the religion of their children, and we find that among the three-fifths showing foreign-born parents, 66.6% had come from Ireland or Italy—from two exceedingly Catholic countries; the rest of them are Jews from Poland or Russia. Only 3.3% of immigrated parents are Protestants. Most of the inmates of the non-immigrated parents show by their names an Irish, Italian or Russian origin. We find the same thing to be true in the country group. Among those of foreign-born parents are 87.5% Catholic. The large percentage of Protestants in the country group, is to be explained by the large percentage of American-born parents.

We find another even more striking difference under the rubric institutional life.

INSTITUTIONAL LIFE

	New York City Group	Country Group
Previously in Juvenile Institution.....	58%	4%
Reformatories	56%	32%

Nearly 66% of all the city criminals were inmates of a juvenile institution. What a proportion when you compare it with the 4% of the country group! We count among the juvenile institutions the protectories, houses of refuge and orphan asylums. In most cases the city child, at 7 years of age, had already started with his institutional life. We have in the above percentage the whole picture of the youth of the city child; no care, no education, a strong passive indirect education by example and an early, much too early, institutional life. We will meet with this institutional life later on in connection with other percentages and facts, since this factor very probably is one of the most important characteristics of the city group. It is the factor which acts the strongest upon the developmental period that follows the first years of childhood. We have, therefore, to examine it closely. We miss it almost entirely in the picture of the country criminal. It marks one of the main differences between the two groups.

The difference in the numbers of those previously in the reformatories diminishes very much if we add to the country group those who have passed through the State Industrial School at Rochester. Then

we find the proportion of 56% (city) to 48% (country). We have thereby nearly the same percentage in both groups. But as the reformatories accept only the older boys and young men (at Elmira Reformatory, to 30 years of age), the group of those who went through reformatories is somewhat removed from those who were inmates of juvenile institutions, protectories and houses of refuge. Reformatories look very much like prisons; cell block, prison uniform and prison work. The child of the country arrives at an institution much later in life than the city child. The influence of these institutions is therefore very different in the two groups, although it is distinct enough even in the country group. All those percentages as 58%, 56% and 48%, throw not only a sharp light upon the men themselves, but also on the rather questionable value of those institutions.

As to marital conditions, we find the following:

MARITAL CONDITIONS

	New York City Group	Country Group
Single	80%	56%
Married	20%	44%

Four-fifths of the city criminals are single, whereas in the country group the percentage does not reach much over half. This high percentage of celibacy shows a clear tendency to the dying out of the criminal of the city group, although new accessions are being supplied from various sources. Certain criminologists have already indicated this tendency, which they found especially among the tramps and vagabonds; and they explained it by a physical and intellectual inferiority. It is striking how decidedly this trait shows itself among the city groups, whereas in the country the single and married men are about of the same number. This celibacy has, probably, its main cause in a certain restlessness which is typical of the group. There is no wish for settling down. They lose very early all idea of a family life, and they do not know much about it. It is particularly because the early institutional regime has a tendency to destroy family feeling. In its place we have the mass work and movement, which very soon develops a reaction—the longing for freedom and an unrestrained life. All institutional life seems to develop this reaction; even more so the regime of a *compulsory* institutional life. Such institutions deal with men who since the early days of their boyhood have offered the most energetic resistance to any compulsion whatever its source or direction. There exists no wish for marital or family life. The sexual instinct finds its satisfaction with prostitutes—a method which to these men

seems to be the natural one to follow. It propels them away from family life, because it permits a much more varied sort of sexual life than the conjugal state could offer.

We are not surprised to find that the city criminals, 46% with a history of previous venereal diseases, with which they became infected, often as early as the 14th, 15th or 16th year. The fact that we find in our country group nearly the same proportion, 44%, who have been infected may be surprising, but venereal diseases, are prevalent throughout all classes of society to an alarming proportion. Thus we can understand the high number of those infected among our country group. It is not the number of venereally diseased which makes the striking trait in the distinction between our two groups, but the numbers under the rubrics, single and married. The man of the country desires much more to settle down, to have his own family and family life. The percentage of 56% and 44% show it clearly. He has lived in a small community since his childhood; he spends the years of first impressions, whether it be on a farm or in a village, always in a narrow circle of environment. His freedom is not capable of much expansion, neither is it suppressed by an early mass life. We know today that we never can solve any problem by suppression. We need a solution, instead of suppression. By the compulsory institutional life, we create, an emotional state with a freedom complex whose influence is more and more deteriorating the earlier it has to develop. This freedom complex brings about a reaction, expression of which we can find evidence in 80% of the unmarried men among our city criminals. We meet here, one of those connections which we are studying, that is, the connection between the early institutional life and the marital state, a striking and surprising connection between two entirely different factors.

There is another very important factor which acts on the development of the child besides the early institutional life; this is the death of either one or both of the parents at a time when the child still needs very much parental care. We find the following:

LOSS OF PARENTS

	New York City Group	Country Group
Loss of Father Only.....	40%	26%
Mother Only	12%	6%
Both Parents	12%	18%

The difference between the two groups is not so very deep when considering the death of both parents. Both groups show about the

same proportion, the country group a little higher. But we find that among the country group the parents often died when the boy had already grown up, often within the last years before his conviction. And as we know that the men of our country group are older, that is, nearer the 30th year of age, we understand why more of these lost their parents than the 19 or 20-year-old boys of the city. Nearly half of the city boys lost their father at an early age, whereas the number of the country boys so afflicted not even reaches one-third; and the percentage of those who had lost their mother is twice as great in the city group. This, we believe, is readily explained by the hard work, the poverty, and the large number of children which weakens the woman of the poor city class much earlier than the healthy woman of the country.

The percentages show, that in the city the home is broken up at an earlier period than in the country. In most of the cases the family life was cut short by the death of one of the parents. In those cases where the death of the father occurred early, the mother had to go to work to support the family. This also affected the older children, who also had to go to work, and who often left the home as early as possible; thus going their own way, they rid themselves of the unwelcome burden of helping to support the family. The younger children did not know any real home and gravitated to the streets. We are not surprised to find, in answer to the question "Did you play in the streets when a boy?" "I played in the streets most of the time" or "The house was closed when mother went to work" or "I played often late at night, until eleven or twelve o'clock, or even the whole night." You have only to go yourself, late at night, through one of those downtown streets in New York City, to find many children playing there, mostly groups of ragged, dirty boys.

The situation in the case of the motherless boys was, at least, as bad; and the same is true in regard to those who had lost both of their parents. They were brought up sometimes by an aunt, a grandmother, by strangers or in an institution. Only 4% went to an orphan asylum. The rest of them attended the New York public schools, and usually were very soon sent to a protectory because of truancy or delinquency. Again the early institutional life throws its heavy shadow on our picture. There are 64%, or about two-thirds, who grew up under such conditions in the large city without a real family or home life.

The conditions of the country group are quite different, even though the number of those who lost one or both of their parents is

nearly the same as in the city group. But the child was not driven out into the street when he lost his parents; provided the rest of the family, following this event, did not move to the town, a thing which sometimes happened. In case the latter happened the conditions would naturally become about the same as in the city group. But usually there is no great change in the mode of living even after the death of one of the parents, as the whole family had to work hard on the farm previous to the death of the father or mother. The children are not driven into a strange, compulsory atmosphere, which acts like a burden, and which, we saw in the case of the city boy, he tried to evade as quickly as possible.

Closely connected with the above consideration is the following:

ORDER OF BIRTH

	New York City Group	Country Group
First Born (oldest).....	18%	22%
Last Born (youngest).....	22%	10%
Only Child	6%	10%

The prison physician found that among the inmates of Auburn Prison, the first-born predominates from a numerical standpoint. It may be perhaps because the first-born is physically and mentally weaker, or perhaps because first-born children arrive unwelcomely. It may be that by the constant, passive perhaps unconscious opposition of the mother against the developing of the child in her body, a certain weakness is caused. But before making any conclusion we should first know, if there is not among normal children, too, a large number of first-born, no statistics of which are available. We discover the same fact which Dr. Heacox found among all inmates of the prison in our country group. The number of the first-born is twice as large as the number of the youngest or only child. In the city group, too, it is high, 18% in contrast to 6%. But in the city group the percentage of the youngest is higher than all the others. More than one-fifth of our city criminals are the youngest of their family. This number does not correspond with the number Dr. Heacox found to be the general rule; but I think we can explain the contradiction by our above-mentioned considerations of the family life. The 64% of broken-up homes in the city group act more particularly on the later-born children. They may be the youngest or the 5th, 6th or 7th, etc., of 7, 8, or 9 children. In either event, they lose their mother; if she does not die herself, she has to go to work to support the family, and her care is lost to her children. Very early the younger born are without any supervision; very early, the street-life; and following it, the institutional life begins

to act. The boy makes friends with other boys or young men, who are very often older than he is and who are very often ex-convicts themselves. They steal and gamble and show him how to steal and gamble. Bad companions! caused mostly by the early death of parents, by the early institutional life, by the early street life. And this "earliness" is the result of the order of birth, of the fact that he happens to be a later-born child.

It is interesting to learn how most of the 8% of drug addicts associated with, and were under the influence of, much older companions. They exhibit a marked lack of will, and are very easily influenced. The younger children saw how their older brothers lived a dissolute life; and the passive, indirect education, the education by example, observation and imitation, is of deep influence upon them. We are not surprised to find among the city group, 20% with convict brothers; a number which seems small, when we think of the sparse information we obtain concerning the family of the subject. In the country group we find only 6% with convict brothers. The 20% of convict brothers and the 22% of the youngest child, in the city group, are facts closely connected together as well as to another fact, the 64% who had no home life when they were young.

The rather high number of the "youngest" is easy to understand after these considerations. It does not really show any contradiction to the general rule of the larger number of first-born among criminals, but only that the external family conditions are of more influence upon the child than the "psychological causes." Among the country group, the first-born comprise the largest group, because the external conditions are here entirely different. The changes are not as abrupt as in the city. The homes are not broken up as easily. The "psychological causes" retain their predominance. There is no early street life, no early institutional life acting here. Next we may consider the answers which we obtained to the question, "Did you like your home?"

REACTION TO HOME LIFE

	New York City Group	Country Group
Not liking their homes.....	16%	12%

We can understand the number of the city group, as we saw how little the city criminal cares for a family life; how easily the compulsory mass life of the institution took away what little he had of love for home; how often, as a late-born child he knew nothing of a family life and grew up in a protectory or on the street; how often, as a first-born, he hated the duty of supporting a family. Similar

factors seem to have influenced in a far smaller way the country group.

In connection with the preceding we may mention the larger number of men in the city group who do not believe in any religion. Only 48% of the city group went to church with any regularity. These are distributed among the various creeds in about the same way; Hebrews, 8% of 18%; Protestants, 8% of 16%; Catholics, 36% of 66%. In the country we find more than two-thirds (66%) going regularly to church. In this matter we have to consider that the answers may be very far from the reality. I had, especially in dealing with the city group, the suspicion of a certain embarrassment. The men did not know if it looked better to be not religious; or if going to church regularly would make a more favorable impression. It seems to be characteristic of our times, that most of the people do not know whether going to church is something necessary or is non-essential.

Considering the median mental age we find as follows:

MEDIAN MENTAL AGE		
	New York City Group	Country Group
Median Mental Age.....	12 Yrs. 7 Mos.	12 Yrs. 2 Mos.

The two ages are very close together, and they represent approximately the median mental age of all the inmates of Auburn Prison. The mental ages of several groups, measured by Binet-Simon tests, during the years 1913 to 1919, have been summarized as follows:

	7 Yrs.	7-9 Yrs.	9-12 Yrs.	12 Yrs. +
Number	11	151	883	839
Per Cent	1.7%	8%	46.8%	44.5%
Under 12 years.....	55.5%			
12 years or over.....	44.5%			

The median mental age of all the inmates of the prison then is a little under 12 years. Of our two small groups the median mental age is a little over 12 years. The city group is a little higher than the country group. This fact should be considered in connection with another fact, that the country group comprises a chronologically older group, the median chronological age being 2 years and 11 months higher than in the city group. The higher mental age of the city group in comparison with the lower chronological age, emphasizes the fact which was found generally, that the city child matures earlier than the child of the country.

On the other hand; we find that the median weight is greater in the country group.

MEDIAN WEIGHT

	New York City Group	Country Group
Median Weight	150.12 Lbs.	157.16 Lbs.

The difference is considerable in our two small groups, and indicates that the city criminal is usually the smaller lighter type compared to the heavy tall boy of the country.

III

After having traced in this way the general differences between the criminals of the large city and those of the country, let us try to draw the picture of each type in finer detail, combining the different features we found above. I remember to have seen during an exhibition of military photographs at the Public Library in New York City, the picture of the "average soldier" of the U. S. Army. They had obtained a composite picture of soldiers from all parts of the country. Let us combine the features of each group in a similar way and obtain a composite picture of each type, using not only the above-mentioned differences, but also the answers we obtained from the rest of the schedule of questions.

A. THE NEW YORK CITY GROUP.

In his appearance he is usually the small type, not reaching above the medium height of men. He is younger and is grouped mostly within the years of 19 to 23. His complexion is dark; hair and eyes dark. He belongs to that dark Semitic race of the European Mediterranean countries, which has been appearing in larger and larger numbers in New York City. These dark and lower races, M. E. Woodruff describes in his book:⁶ "We can now understand why there is such a flood of brunettes from Europe and Asia. They are continuing the westward movement, which was begun about ten or twelve thousand years ago, which was interrupted until recently, when the way became open by cheap transportation. But they never go out of their zone. Armenians, Slavs, Huns, Servians and Bulgarians flock to America, to live in the same latitude as at home. No wonder they flourish, whereas the blond Aryans are too far south in Boston or New York and tend to deteriorate. There are cities and other localities in Poland and Central Europe which are more than half Jewish, and these men are filling up New York, which is almost perfectly suited to them."

⁶The Effects of Tropical Light on White Men, page 297.

How true this observation is, when in our study we find a typical group who immigrated as children with their parents to this country, and who were brought up in New York City and became criminals there. Most of them came from Russia or German Poland and from the Mediterranean countries, particularly Italy and Greece. These same dark, lower races produced that degeneration which Woodruff describes, and which had already ruined the Roman and Greek cultures. That they are a race of lower grade may be inferred from the large number of criminals. Most of our New York City group belong to these dark complexioned, dark haired people. Dark, rather small, young; this is the appearance. A tough vitality; most of them were never sick (except for the usual childhood diseases), in spite of the unhealthy conditions in which they lived.

Most of them start their sexual life with prostitutes at fourteen to sixteen years, and continue it rather excessively. The 2% who deny any sexual intercourse are feeble-minded, and this is also true of the country group.

Eighty-two per cent said that they liked alcoholic drinks. Many of them denied any intoxication. But most of them answered the question "What did you drink" with "beer, wine, whiskey," or "everything." We may, therefore, conclude that their use of alcoholics was rather excessive. The criminal life of some of them is in direct relation to their being intoxicated. These cases are marked on their records as having a "defective control for alcohol." The rest of them, the 18% abstainers, cannot be quite discarded, because to many of the men drinking beer does not mean the use of alcohol. The number of those who actually use alcoholic beverages, therefore, may be considered larger, and perhaps comprises nearly the whole group. It should be possible in a few years to examine the effect of prohibition in the United States, and how it has influenced criminality. Today the use of alcoholic beverages is one of the characteristic features of criminals, not only in the city, but as well in the country.

In connection with the earlier maturity, we find the slightly higher mental age of the city criminal. His early development is the direct result of the living conditions of the large city; by the struggle with the environment in which the child finds himself. The large city demands of the child the solution of certain problems at a very early age. It puts the child into a situation fruitful of danger which is unknown to the country boy. All these conditions put a greater demand upon the intelligence of the city child.

Besides these, other factors are decisive. 1. The passive education: Example and imitation of older companions. Nearly 70% are directly influenced by their friends; it is true whether the companions were ex-convicts, whether they did steal or gamble, or whether they were simply many years older than the subject. This passive education brought a quicker mental development, and especially a certain cleverness which distinguishes the city criminals. 2. Active school education also helps to produce the earlier maturity of the city group. The boy of the city begins school earlier and continues longer than the country child. The latter often attends only during the winter months and receives a rather primitive scholastic training. The city group shows an average school attendance of seven to eight years, whether in the public school, a Catholic or Hebrew parochial school or in an institution. It is interesting to learn that the city boy shows a much more marked indifference towards school than the country boy. When I asked "What did you like the best in school?" the answer of the city group was "all about the same." Whereas, in the country group 42% showed a special interest in one or two studies, history and geography especially. Although we cannot count too much on these answers, because of the possibility of their arising out of the special situation in which the subject found himself, yet they are typical and they show the characteristic indifference of the city child. This indifference we believe is another phase of that general antipathy to any institution which we mentioned above as a "freedom complex," the result of a severe conflict between the deep longing for freedom and the immoderate compulsions of the city life.

Being a descendant of the Mediterranean races or of the Irish, the city criminal is mostly Catholic. He shows the same indifference towards the church as toward the school. Church means to him scrutiny, compulsion, an unwelcome burden. The church's concepts of the proper life to lead is not as tempting to him as an uncontrolled life with its successes and joys. The answers to the question, "Why did you stop going to church?" were, therefore, "Because I got sick of it." Very seldom did they assign the reason to other factors as, "I was down-hearted when my parents were divorced," or "the drugs knocked it out." Only one of them declared himself to be an atheist. The fear of a punishment after death is not very strong among the city criminals, who are not even afraid of a much nearer punishment. I am convinced that the "preventive effect" of any penal law has been over-rated. The factors which are causative of crime are usually much stronger than any fear of a punishment.

It is astonishing how little the city criminal knows about his family. The questions about the occupations, habits, diseases or deaths of the parents or brothers and sisters were answered in a very untrustworthy manner. It was more often a lack of knowledge of the circumstances. The relationship to the family was too loose. The answers about street-life and home conditions showed this clearly. Often there was no home life at all. Although most of them (84%) declared that they liked their homes, we could see, when we correlated the other answers, that the subject spent most of his time far from home. They did not know any details of the illnesses of parents; as children they only heard about them or perhaps felt them only when the home conditions were changed, or when the income grew smaller and the situation at home was worse. Or because the father, having lost his job, was at home more than usual, or was more than usually intoxicated. Most of them did not like to say anything about the habits of the parents. Only 8% spoke of a heavily intoxicated father who was abusive and who had caused the misery of the family. Most of them did not know anything about brothers or sisters except in the most general way. They did not appear to care for them to any great extent. If these were younger, they were considered as a burden. If they were older, they were early lost sight of. Friends were nearer and stuck to them closer. It was sometimes hard, therefore, to get even the number of brothers or sisters. This sparse knowledge of his own family is another characteristic of our city group.

The occupations of the members of this group are shown in the following table. For purposes of comparison the occupations of the fathers are also shown:

OCCUPATION		
	Fathers	Subjects
Laborers	18	7
Tradesmen	11	16
Salesmen, Clerks	6	6
Truck Drivers	5	1
Saloon Keepers and Waiters.....	3	0
Not Known	2	0
Physician	1	0
Musician	1	0
Watchman	1	0
Barber	1	1
Bootblack	1	1
Chauffeur	0	9
Sailors	0	3
Butler	0	1
Cook	0	1
No Occupation	0	4
	<hr/> 50	<hr/> 50

Many different factors enter into the choice of occupation of the criminals of the large city. It seems surprising that only 8% are without any occupation. Some criminologists ascertained that habitual criminals usually have no trade or occupation at all. They classified them among "laborers and helpers, without any definite occupation." We could easily be convinced that the city criminal belongs in general to the habitual criminals; the more easily when we compare the number of those with previous convictions. Nearly half of the city criminals (46%) show three or more previous convictions. But we discover here one of the main differences. If you desire you may put the city criminal among the class of habitual criminals. However, we found a special, very different group which cannot really be classified as such, but might as well be put in opposition to the habitual criminal. Only 8% of the city group have no occupation. We may "*mutatis mutandis*" count the chauffeur in the same group, especially when we think of the conditions of the modern American city. It is a feature of our times, that the men who would be classified in Europe as "laborers or helpers, having no definite occupation" are often in this country taxi-drivers, with their own second-hand car. It is well known that these private taxi-drivers comprise a most dangerous class.

But in general, our statistics of occupation show that the city criminal usually has a trade. We are not so much surprised at this fact, as we know that many of these boys passed through reformatories or industrial schools, where they were taught a trade and which many of them continued to follow. We find that the occupation of 14% had been undoubtedly determined by their institutional life. Every one of these 14% entered such institutions after an early death of their parents. The death of the father often influences the occupation, even if it does not result in institutional life. It seems to have determined the occupation of 14%; 32% chose their father's occupation. The influence of race is also most certainly shown when a colored boy becomes an elevator runner, a porter, a butler or a cook, as well as when a Hebrew starts to deal in second-hand clothing, and if we remember, as we found in I, how much the mental development acts upon the choice of occupation, how impossible it is to progress industrially beyond the limit of mental capacity, we are not only able to point out the influence of mental development upon choice of occupation, but we are also able to understand it.

As we have mentioned above, often the city criminal did not know any home at all, or what a home means. The streets of the dark quarters in "down-town" New York, East or West side, are his play-

ground, by day and by night; those streets with their red brick tenement houses, with their ill-kept rooms and filthy entrances, with their gloomy, black fire escapes. They do not form a very up-lifting environment for the soul of a child. Drunkenness, prostitution and crime breed there, as soon as the night sets in her darkness. Most of our city criminals lived as boys during long night hours in those streets. With a depressing power acts the factor "early street life" in a great city. All answers were similar to each other, "I played all the time in the streets," "I never wanted to go to school," "I often played the whole night in the street." Movies, vaudeville, burlesques, and boxing matches were the amusements which they attended night after night, and afterwards stayed out until late after midnight. In Fourteenth street, in the Bowery, and the East side, where for ten cents the most exciting and demoralizing pictures are shown. This took the place of home. There they made friends, whose influence stimulated mental development to a certain extent, but whose influence stimulated also the criminal instinct without limit. Institutional life also offered opportunities to become acquainted with gang life. Companions found in the reformatory, from whom they learned to steal and rob, were often the same companions with whom they afterwards associated for more extensive stealing and robbing. Reformatories seem often to be schools for crime in the sense that their coercion by religious means, stimulates the opposition against every discipline and produces an early disdain towards the church itself and furthers the indifference towards religion.

How similar are all these histories of institutional life! They all begin at the 6th or 7th year of age, first the reformatory, house of refuge, juvenile asylum, parental school, or truant school. Then the next step, work house, reformatory, penitentiary. And necessarily follows, the third and last step, prison, with its more or less long sentence. All the city criminals follow about the same course, which fills nearly the whole life.

The crimes which are committed by the boys of the large city are mostly against property. Petit larceny, grand larceny, burglary, robbery. They are distinguished often by a reckless brutality. In some cases they start in the years of early boyhood with burglary and end in robbery or manslaughter before manhood is yet reached. In other cases, the career begins with truancy, continues with assault and ends with robbery or murder. Another characteristic type are those whose offense is rape or the so-called "white slavery," and brutality is often apparent.

All these various features of the city criminal show themselves in their deepest roots as a reaction against any compulsion. The "freedom complex," as we call it, is the result of the conflict between the wish for a boundless excessive freedom as the criminal life of the large city offers it, and the reactions to the excessive suppression, the compulsion of mass life in institutions. It creates a cowardice toward any responsibility for others. And it also creates a dominating egoism which influences the marital state, as well as the choice of occupation, and emphasizes the false beauty and advantages of a life whose only purpose is love for oneself.

B. THE COUNTRY GROUP.

We now want to consider the different features of the country group to close this study. I think we have only to point out the main causes which creates the type of the country group, and which is entirely different from the type of the city. We find here the same causes (analogues to those of the city) acting upon the boy during his youth, but acting in an entirely different environment. The boys of the country group were brought up either on a farm or in a small village. The answers to our questions regarding recreations and amusements are, therefore, quite different. We find nowhere a street-life at night. Nor are gloomy city streets the playgrounds, but the woods and pastures, the brooks and lakes. Hunting, fishing, trapping or the work of the farm fill the time. The boy of the village likes sports; baseball, football. Outdoor sports in summer or winter. The groups of those who spend all their evenings at movies or shows are much smaller. The boys living on distant farms do not know for a long time what movies are like. We find, therefore, that these boys like movies much more than the boys of the city. They either like vaudeville shows or are decidedly against them. One gets the impression that the city boys do not really care for movies, and visit them more to pass the time away, while the country boy, if he is not decidedly against them, really likes them. Fishing, hunting, sport; no street life; no institutional life disturbs the early development. The life is more free than in the city, but it is the freedom of large spaces, a vastly different freedom from the squalid, walled streets of the city. And on the other hand, there is no early reaction upon this freedom from an excessive compulsion.

Many of the country boys lose one or both of their parents, and often as early as the city boy; but this does not mean that the home is broken up. In the country there exists a much stronger feeling for community life. The responsibility for others of the immediate group

is not considered as a burden or felt as a compulsion. From early childhood a sense of responsibility is instilled, not only for members of the household, but also for the dumb animals on the farm. We find, therefore, a much larger number of married men; and whereas, the few married men of the city group have no children or seldom one and show a tendency to dying out. Among the country group we find, as a rule, a large family of children.

We have seen that the country criminal, in his appearance, is taller and more robust than the city criminal. His medium weight is 157 as compared with 150 for the city group. He is older and grouped within the last years of the second decade, and beginning of the third. His mental age is lower than the city boy. His life is much more quiet, not as dangerous, and is in closer relation to nature. His education in school, often, especially later, is rather primitive. All these factors, associated with the more deliberate ways of the farmer in general, explain the lower mental age. We can see that nature teaches something which is very near to religion, and in the country group enhances the religious feeling which is much more deeply seated, though perhaps mixed with superstition, because, for primitive people, it is much easier to believe than to know. This is in contra-distinction to the higher developed urban man.

The smaller number of those coming from the Mediterranean countries, or from Russia, explains the distribution of the creeds; 74% Protestants, 26% Catholics, and no Hebrews. The number of the first-born is twice as high as the number of youngest or only children. Only 8% have convict brothers. That in the country, the first-born is more often the only one to go wrong may be explained by his often being unwelcome as the first child by his early and hard work, or by his being forced to leave home earlier than the other children. It was more of these boys, who declared themselves to be the "black sheep" of the family, about whom E. J. Kempf writes⁷ "The black sheep, usually the unwelcome child of the family, hates his brothers and father and becomes a source of pain and sorrow to his mother, and of shame to his household. He has no well defined wish in his heart, is inclined to brood, drink and break the social laws . . . such men give one a deep feeling that something in their childhood has been neglected." We are not surprised to find among our first-born, excessive users of alcohol and gamblers. There is in general a larger "defective control for alcohol" among the country group than the city. The crime is often committed as a direct result of being intoxi-

⁷Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. IV, p. 402.

cated. It may be that the man of the country drinks more than the man of the city, but I think that the man of the city by the use of heavier drinks develops a sort of immunity. The man of the country becomes intoxicated much easier, and being intoxicated, of course commits crime much easier. Even among the 12% who did not like their home, we find about 6% first-born children.

We received in general much more information concerning the home conditions, the health and habits of parents, sisters and brothers, than we did of the city group. But the answers are also very unreliable.

The following table gives the information concerning the occupations:

OCCUPATION		
	Fathers	Subjects
Farmers	18	5
Laborers	8	14
Tradesmen	9	12
Salesmen	4	2
Not Known	3	0
Teamsters	2	2
Railroad Workers	2	2
Barbers	1	2
Lumbermen	1	3
Hotel Clerks	1	1
School Teachers	1	0
Chauffeurs	0	5
Firemen	0	2
	<hr/> 50	<hr/> 50

These numbers show clearly the drifting of the country population from the farms and villages to the city. The high wages and the excessive freedom of the city are tempting. Thus results a proletarianizing of the peasants or country population and with it an increasing number of criminals. We also see that it is especially the country and farm life which decides the choice of occupation as well among the fathers as among the subjects. In other words the main factor which influences the choice of occupation is the occupation of the father.

The generation which forms our country group has spent its youth on the farm or in a small village. Only 4% of them were sent to juvenile institutions. But many of them left the country in the critical years of adolescence, and then the number of these who are sent to institutions rises immediately from 4% to 48%. The Juvenile institutional life is followed by the prison life. They follow a way similar to the city boy only they start later and the road is much shorter. In 58% of our country group, the present conviction is

the first or second; a striking contrast to the city group, with whom the present conviction is the third to seventh, even to the extent of 78% of the whole group. We would conclude therefore that the population of the city is more criminal than the population of the country, as was generally asserted by criminologists and as we attempted to show in part I. We find, however, that the criminality of the city is much more dangerous than the criminality of the country. Not only do the individual histories show a lesser number of previous convictions, but they also show that the crime often resulted accidentally, or out of a fatal situation. As the prison records state: "The subject shows no criminal tendencies." The crime itself in the country group is also more frequently one against property. We find very seldom that regular progression, beginning with truancy, then burglary, and continuing without interruption until an assault, robbery or murder is committed, that we found in the city group. We have here more frequently the accidental offender. The habitual criminal of this group shows previous convictions for lighter offenses, as intoxication or vagrancy. The reckless violence does not appear in this group as it did in the city.

There is much more that could be said about our two groups, as neither of them are as yet exhausted by such a short sketch. They offer many exceedingly interesting points for deeper and more detailed study. We believe that it is only by comparing differences between groups and trying to find the connections between inter-related factors that we will be enabled to understand the criminal and the causes of criminality. We not only learn facts, but we are able to understand and explain them. If this study adds something to the understanding of criminals; if it encourages for new work along similar lines, it has fulfilled its purpose. For the opportunity to work out this comparison, I am much indebted to the Superintendent of Prisons of New York State, Mr. C. F. Rattigan, and especially to the Prison Physician, Dr. F. L. Heacox, whose work in establishing and carrying on the psychological laboratory work at Auburn Prison, will always be of greatest value for the understanding of criminals and criminality.